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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SIK (Hungary): General Assembly resolution 995 (X) of December 1955, admitting Hungary to membership in the United Nations together with fifteen other countries, was wholeheartedly welcomed by the Hungarian people. Membership in the United Nations meant to the people of Hungary an opportunity to contribute, in this great international forum, to the safeguarding of peace with their own modest means.
2. The Hungarian people were, however, bitterly disillusioned on this point. The General Assembly has since October 1956 adopted a series of resolutions which run counter to the main principles of the Charter of the United Nations and constitute an interference in affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary. Those resolutions did not promote the healing of the wounds inflicted by the counter-revolution; quite the contrary, they represented an endeavour to hamper peaceful consolidation.
3. The Hungarian Government was compelled to oppose those resolutions and to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the country. There was one resolution which was adopted with the best intentions of providing assistance namely, General Assembly resolution 1007 (ES-II). However, this resolution was not implemented with any substantial success.
4. In the difficult situation caused by the counter-revolutionary attack, the Hungarian people were in need of assistance; but they wanted, at the very least, to settle their internal affairs on their own and to choose their own way towards prosperity.
5. The counter-revolution was an attempt to revive fascism in Hungary. It caused losses amounting to nearly 22 thousand million forints to the national economy, which was threatened with economic disorganization. All this, apart from those who absconded in order to escape punishment for their role in the counter-revolution, prompted many tens of thousands of Hungarians to flee abroad from the spectre of fascism and economic crisis. A great majority of

these persons are in a precarious situation and wish to return home, but in many countries they are prevented from doing so. The Hungarian delegation will submit to the General Assembly a draft resolution in connexion with this problem and will request the Assembly to help these people and, first of all, those who are under age, to return to their families in Hungary.

6. The aid rendered by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries helped Hungary to surmount the aftermath of the counter-revolution. In addition to this, Hungary received some material aid from other countries, in part through the International Red Cross. Although the large-scale political and material assistance extended by the socialist countries was of incalculable importance, the consolidation of economic and political life in the country was due, first of all, to the fact that the Hungarian people endorsed the Government's programme and did their utmost to help carry it through.

7. Today, the economic life of the country is going along in a sound way. Industrial output in July 1957 equalled, and in consumer goods considerably surpassed, the output level prior to the counter-revolution. Agriculture is undergoing a similarly favourable development. The abolition of the compulsory sale of produce to the State and the introduction of a new purchasing system gave the peasantry about 20 to 25 per cent higher incomes than before. Wage-earners and salary-earners now receive, thanks to government measures, considerably more than before the counter-revolution. Order and tranquillity prevail in Hungary. The production figures and the economic consolidation of the country, which took place sooner than expected, are one of the best indications that the masses trust and support the Government.

8. This progress has been disturbed by the political campaign conducted against the Hungarian people by the great Western Powers which fomented the counter-revolutionary uprising. This new attempt to influence the internal development of the country in the interest of great power policy has aroused the indignation of the Hungarian people. For several weeks Hungary has been the scene of a veritable plebiscite. Hundreds and thousands of people participated in mass meetings of protest and up to now 268,000 people signed telegrams and memorandums protesting against the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, which was created upon the insistence of certain great Powers, and against its investigation of the domestic affairs of the Hungarian people.

9. Some of these telegrams have already been transmitted to the Secretary-General. Others have been brought here by the Hungarian delegation and will also be transmitted to the Secretary-General. I could quote from these telegrams at length, but I am going to read

out only a single one. The workers of the Esztergom machine-tool factory have written the following:

"The problem of Hungary is being discussed by the Hungarian people themselves. We have already begun discussing it by defeating the counter-revolution and starting productive work. We serve the cause of peace, we have had enough of destruction. Let peace come; the peoples of the world desire it so."

The other telegrams protest in a similar way against the so-called problem of Hungary being kept alive in the United Nations. This protest movement is gaining force like an avalanche.

10. The Hungarian Government and the Hungarian delegation have presented numerous publications, with convincing facts and documents, and it seems incomprehensible that, although these documents have proved irrefutable, the so-called question of Hungary has been maintained on the agenda of the General Assembly, thereby making it more difficult for the Hungarian Government to establish cordial and friendly relations with other countries.

11. When the Hungarian delegation came to the twelfth session of the General Assembly, it believed that its country's peaceful development, about which representatives would receive ample information, would convince the majority of them that their earlier attitude towards the Hungarian question was wrong. Unfortunately we were mistaken. On 14 September 1957, the General Assembly, at its eleventh session, adopted a resolution [resolution 1133 (XI)] which, far from promoting peaceful developments in Hungary, is actually intended to fan unrest. This resolution was based on the report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3592]; which report, as we have already proved, purposely and maliciously distorted the truth.

12. It could be claimed that the resolution was passed by the majority of the General Assembly, by sixty States. That is true. But if arithmetic is to be used, all the better, let us do some simple arithmetic. The population of the ten States which voted against this draft resolution totals 309 million and that of the abstaining States 520 million, which added up gives 829 million. The population of the socialist States which are not Members of the United Nations amounts to 640 million. That is a total of 1,469 million. The population of the sixty States which voted for the resolution is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 850 million. No comment is necessary.

13. Unfortunately this is not the first time in the practice of the United Nations that a resolution has been passed which leaves out of account the attitude taken by the de facto majority of mankind. To mention only one blatant example: by the resolution adopted yesterday, [resolution 1135 (XII)] the real representatives of China were again prevented from occupying their rightful place in the United Nations. Such resolutions, which ignore the facts, quite obviously undermine the prestige of the United Nations to a considerable extent.

14. So far as the resolution passed on Hungary is concerned, the Hungarian people and their Government are convinced of the rightness of their cause. Therefore they are not allowing themselves to be intimidated in any way and will not swerve from the

path which, as the facts show, is leading to the material and cultural advancement of the country. And if we have failed to convince all representatives during the debate, the injustice of these resolutions will be eloquently proved by our act, the future achievements of our work of construction, and our foreign policy based on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

15. Ever since the working people have exercised power in Hungary, they have supported with their utmost strength all efforts to safeguard peace. Under Horthy fascism, the Hungarian people were taught to hate their neighbouring nations. The effects of this belligerent propaganda over more than two decades, to which every Hungarian was constantly exposed, are still making themselves felt today. The Hungarian Government is employing every educational means to eradicate chauvinism and nationalism used for fanning hatred among peoples and to foster among the Hungarian people esteem and respect for other nations. The Hungarian Parliament has passed an Act on the defence of peace and, on the basis of this Act, the Hungarian Government is suppressing all forces in the country which attempt to break the peace. The working masses are undivided in their support for the Government in its policy of peaceful coexistence among the peoples. The counter-revolution last year inflicted heavy damage also in this respect and involved inestimable dangers. Chauvinism flared up and enmity towards neighbouring peoples was incited. When the counter-revolution was put down, it also meant the end of these dangerous phenomena.

16. The Hungarian people want to enjoy the fruits of their own labour; therefore they firmly oppose any attempts, either by reactionary quarters at home or by a foreign Power, to jeopardize their achievements. A war would prevent the building of socialism, destroy the results of twelve years of work and threaten the very existence of Hungary. Today those who hope to benefit from a war are no longer in power; therefore, the will for peace of the Hungarian Government is consistent in both domestic and foreign policy.

17. Prompted by the principle of peaceful coexistence, the Hungarian People's Republic is developing its relations with other countries. While upholding its independence and sovereignty, it is ready to come to agreement with any country which respects these principles. At present Hungary maintains diplomatic relations with forty-three countries. The Hungarian Government places special emphasis on establishing relations with countries which have recently obtained their independence.

18. Although the Hungarian People's Republic is ready to come to terms with all countries irrespective of their social and political systems, there are countries with which it has failed to establish good relations and which are still unfriendly towards Hungary, make unjustified accusations, and are discriminating against it in various ways. In the present discussion, for instance, the head of the Italian delegation and others have again made scathing attacks on the Hungarian Government similar to those made in the past few months. Unfortunately, some statements have been made here with the sole purpose of poisoning the atmosphere and increasing tension. Speeches like that of the representative of Australia, [687th meeting] who would make peace contingent on the annihilation of one's opponent, are not conceived

in the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Our relations with the United States Government are not good, either. The hostile attitude toward the Hungarian people of the leading quarters in the United States is alone responsible for this. The deterioration of this relationship did not start after the counter-revolution; the relationship only grew even worse at that time. The United States is not doing its part even today to normalize relations.

19. We should like to improve our neighbourly relations with adjacent Austria. For this, however, it would be necessary that the Austrian Government give a little more indication of the neutrality to which it pledged itself in the 1955 State Treaty than was the case in the speech made this morning by its representative [687th meeting].

20. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is convinced that if every country were to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries, a good relationship could be brought about on the basis of mutual advantage between nations with entirely different social systems. These fundamental principles of Hungary's foreign policy are in complete harmony with the resolutions passed at the 1955 Bandung Conference and on the basis of these principles the Hungarian delegation supports the draft declaration [A/3673] submitted to the General Assembly by the Soviet Union, according to which the United Nations should declare that co-operation among countries should be based on territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit.

21. Some are perhaps anxious to know why, then Hungary is adhering to the 1955 Warsaw Treaty. Before answering I should like to call attention to article 11 of the Warsaw Treaty, which states:

"Should a system of collective security be established in Europe, and a General European Treaty of Collective Security concluded for this purpose, for which, the Contracting Parties will unswervingly strive, the present Treaty shall cease to be operative from the day the General European Treaty enters into force."

22. The belligerent quarters of the United States are increasing war tension in Europe by continuing the rearmament of the German Federal Republic and by maintaining the division of Germany. In the various parts of Europe, just as in the German Federal Republic, atomic bases are being established. By all means possible these quarters are preventing the reunification of Germany on democratic foundations, which is a fundamental condition of European peace and security.

23. The need for self-defence has made the Hungarian people look for protection against the threatening forces of the armed German militarists, and the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in alliance with them, by entering into friendship pacts with fraternal, sympathetic peoples living across their borders, because the Hungarian people would be incapable of defending themselves alone. Tension in Europe will be eased, however, not if military blocs are opposed one to the other but if the States of Europe give each other mutual guarantees that they will solve any controversial issues only by peaceful means.

24. A peaceful atmosphere in Europe is prevented also by the fact that twelve years after the end of the war the United States is maintaining armed forces in Europe and is working hand in glove with the German militarists.

25. At the meetings of the sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission which started in March 1957 the Soviet Union made a reasonable proposal based on reciprocity according to which, on the one hand, the United States, the United Kingdom and France should within two years make a substantial reduction in their armed forces stationed on the territory of the NATO countries and, on the other, the Soviet Union should similarly reduce its armed forces stationed in the Warsaw Treaty countries. Later the Soviet Union also submitted a proposal for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from European countries. These proposals have been reiterated by the Soviet Union at the current session of the General Assembly [681st meeting]. The Hungarian Government supports these Soviet proposals because they are a means of liquidating military blocs, reducing the armed forces of the great Powers, and therefore a step forward towards bringing about an agreement for European collective security.

26. The aggressive quarters of the great Western Powers, however, show no inclination to liquidate their military blocs and war bases. According to a statement by the United States Congress Appropriations Committee, as reported by the United Press on 10 August 1957, since 1950 the NATO States have doubled their military strength. During that period the United States spent 254 thousand million dollars on armaments, while its allies, making use of effective United States aid, spent an additional 124 thousand million dollars. The German Federal Republic, which was made a party to NATO in 1954, expended for this purpose 8.7 thousand million marks in the fiscal year 1956-1957 and has appropriated 9 thousand million marks for 1957-1958. Nevertheless the United States Congress Appropriations Committee expressed its regret that West German rearmament was proceeding at too slow a pace. It is common knowledge that the Adenauer Government is building barracks by the hundreds, purchasing from the United States and other countries thousands of millions of dollars worth of heavy and nuclear weapons. Moreover, there are many indications that, despite the prohibitive provisions of the 1954 Paris Agreements, Western Germany itself is preparing to manufacture nuclear weapons. Another cause for alarm is that thirty-eight generals, 237 colonels and 225 lieutenant-colonels of the former Nazi Wehrmacht have been assigned posts in the new West German army. It is to be feared, therefore, that the newly organized Bundeswehr is reviving the spirit of Hitler. The experience of cruel suffering in two world wars has made the Hungarian people acquainted with the barbarism of the German militarists, and our people are prompted by their own vital interests to demand the liquidation of atomic bases on the territory of the German Federal Republic and the banning of nuclear equipment of the West German armed forces.

27. A disarmament agreement would solve these problems. Experience, however, has shown that whenever the way was opened for agreement at the recent London meetings of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission thanks to the indefatigable efforts of the

Soviet Union, the Western Powers always came forward with new conditions upon which the first concrete steps were made contingent. Under the present circumstances however, agreement cannot be postponed.

28. The Hungarian people are especially alarmed at the fact that the negotiations concerning the prohibition of nuclear weapons have so far remained unsuccessful. What is more, the United States is placing special atomic equipment on the territory of several NATO countries. The two great Western Powers have refused to discontinue nuclear weapons tests, which they have made dependent on complex conditions, thereby intentionally frustrating the adoption of the Soviet and Indian proposals for the temporary suspension of such tests under international control. The manufacture of atomic weapons has practically brought about rivalry between the great Powers, threatening the whole of mankind with war and untold suffering. Hungary, which is situated not far from West Germany, is especially deeply concerned about the prospects of a nuclear war.

29. In the opinion of the Hungarian delegation, the suspension of experiments with nuclear weapons can be realized immediately and unconditionally. The United States and the United Kingdom have so far refused to do this in spite of the fact that the Soviet proposal on this point fully guarantees the effective control of such measures.

30. Considering the fact that the atomic tests made already have considerably increased radioactivity and that this jeopardizes the health of future generations as well as of our own, the Hungarian delegation is in favour of the Czechoslovak proposal [A/3614 and Add.1] for holding as soon as possible a large-scale international scientific conference to study the effects of radiation. It also regards as necessary that measures be taken to prevent radioactivity from being further increased.

31. As the great Powers are trying to outdo one another in the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, which means a threat of war and inestimable suffering for mankind, in our opinion still further measures are needed. Therefore the Hungarian delegation attributes great significance to the Soviet proposal [A/3674/Rev.1] asking the States concerned to undertake to discontinue for a trial period the production of nuclear weapons. Making this completely realistic proposal contingent on unacceptable conditions is tantamount to committing a crime against humanity.

32. Now I should like to deal with a few other important international questions. The propaganda centres, which are enjoying the large-scale financial support of the United States Government, are stepping up their activities to cause unrest in the countries which are not capitulating to the interests of imperialist policy. They are continuing their subversive work on the territory of many countries, just as in Hungary, so as to substitute the régime in power with one that would make these countries subservient to a policy of war. This policy made the situation particularly precarious in the Middle East. Most recently, for instance, the Government of Syria was forced to take firm measures to ward off the attempted coup d'état supported by the United States Government. The organization of conspiracy in Syria is part and parcel

of the so-called Eisenhower doctrine, the aim of which is to fill the vacuum brought about by the waning of British and French influence in the Arab countries. As a result the Middle East has become the dangerous tinderbox of a new war.

33. Other countries in the Middle East are also waging a hard struggle against new forms of colonialism and, although right and justice are on their side, the United Nations has not so far given them effective support in their struggle for freedom and independence.

34. Thousands of patriots are being imprisoned and killed in Algeria, and this has been going on for some time. There is actually a war in progress. More than 500,000 French soldiers are fighting the population putting up resistance in the whole country. The war has assumed such proportions that today not only the lives of the fighting men but the whole civilian population of Algeria is continuously threatened. The United Nations would act in the spirit of the Charter if it were to pass a resolution calling upon France to recognize the Algerian people's right to self-determination and to begin discussions with the representatives of the Algerian people without delay with a view to the immediate termination of the fighting.

35. During the summer the national forces of Oman launched a struggle to bring to power a government capable of conducting a policy of independence and sovereignty corresponding to the interests of the country. The United Kingdom Government intervened on behalf of the Sultan, who stood for British capitalist interests, in the struggle that was the exclusive domestic affair of Oman, and British troops took their toll of thousands of Omani patriots. The Arab countries appealed to the Security Council which, however, refused to act.^{1/}

36. Similarly, the situation in Cyprus is still unsolved. In this connexion the eleventh session of the General Assembly in February 1957 adopted a resolution calling upon the British authorities and the patriots to find "a peaceful, democratic and just solution" [resolution 1013 (XI)]. However, negotiations have not yet come about. Instead, the British authorities are continuing their terror, are keeping more than 1,000 innocent Cypriots in prison, whom they are torturing in the most barbaric manner. In this question the Hungarian Government is also prompted by its concern for peace. The acts of aggression in the Near East mean a threat of a new world war.

37. It would further ease the international situation if the United Nations would employ its international prestige to put an end to discrimination against some countries. It is impossible to talk about universality of the United Nations as long as this discriminatory policy excludes the representatives of the People's Republic of China. The struggle to keep in check the forces of war can have a lasting success only if it is recognized that every country has the exclusive domestic right to choose its social system. The interests of universal peace make it imperative that all countries, irrespective of their social system, share in solving the controversial issues that arise. The problems of Asia and the cause of world peace cannot be solved without China, one of the most powerful

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twelfth Year, 784th meeting.

countries in the world and the largest so far as population is concerned. Under pressure from the United States Government, the United Nations is still excluding the representatives of the Chinese people only because they have embarked on the road to socialism. This is diametrically opposed to the fundamental principle of the peaceful coexistence of peoples and also prevents the weakening of forces out to provoke war.

38. In the opinion of the Hungarian delegation the General Assembly has to solve important problems in the interest of promoting international economic co-operation. The Assembly ought to take effective steps to solve the long-standing issue of aid to economically under-developed countries. The United Nations ought to concern itself with breaking down the barriers to sound economic relations in the world. As a whole series of economic problems still remains to be examined with urgency and thoroughness, the Hungarian delegation considers expedient the Soviet proposal to convene a world economic conference [681st meeting].

39. On the basis of what has been said, the Hungarian delegation is of the opinion that the twelfth session of the General Assembly should concern itself, first of all, with the peaceful co-existence of peoples, with the banning of nuclear weapons, with disarmament and the Middle East problems. My delegation regards it as its main task to contribute to the best solution of these issues in conformity with the basic interests of humanity.

40. Mr. NAJIBULLAH (Afghanistan): It is my privilege to express to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of the Afghanistan delegation on your election, which was so justly and unanimously voted by this Assembly. It is also my privilege to extend to my fellow representatives the greetings of the Royal Afghan Government, as well as its sincerest wishes for the success of the current session of the General Assembly.

41. Our attachment to the United Nations and its Charter and principles and our complete adherence to the principles of human rights and self-determination of the peoples not only are based on ideological grounds but also result from our long experience as a free and small country in the controversial events of modern history. We believe that the peace of the world can be secured only on those bases, and we are certain that our future prosperity depends on peace. In saying that, we are not posing as moralists but, on the contrary, are in all humility expressing our conviction that our fellow Member States are as attached to those principles as we are.

42. The attitude of the Afghanistan delegation at previous sessions of the Assembly has been inspired by those principles, and that will continue to be the case during the current session. This attitude is not characterized by any kind of opposition towards any country or group of countries, or by any idea which is different from the basic ideal of the United Nations that is, that there should be no distinction among Member States based on geographical considerations.

43. This world has been the scene of tremendous evolution in the last twelve years. The nationalist movements of the African and Asian continents have been as natural as those of the European and American continents during the last century. Thus, if we have

supported those movements, it has been only on the basis of an objective appreciation of that fact and because of our sincere desire that the problems of the world should be settled by mutual understanding and goodwill, and not by violent reactions and bloodshed. We likewise follow the same line today, without an antagonistic or fanatical feelings towards any other country.

44. The independence of the Federation of Malaya and its admission to the United Nations constitute one of the best examples, not only of the justification of the rightful aspirations of a great nation but also of the generous gesture and appreciation of a great Power, the United Kingdom. Both of them are to be sincerely congratulated, and their examples should be followed in similar cases.

45. We realize that the United Nations has had its difficulties and that present world problems are considered from many perspectives. We also realize that human problems are very complicated, that national political and economic problems play their role, and that each individual problem cannot be regarded in complete detachment from the currents of world problems. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, there is no reason why we should not appreciate more the normal evolution of the world.

46. Fortunately, we realize that this great Organization, through the zeal of its eminent Secretary-General and its devoted officials, has gone forward along the path traced for it twelve years ago. This is a cause for hope and an evidence of progress; and we believe that through our devotion and adherence to the principles and spirit of the Charter we shall gradually overcome many other difficulties.

47. Our optimism is based on the consciousness of the peoples of the world that, if we are to have peace, there is no alternative but ultimately to identify our respective policies with the spirit of the Charter. Each and every one of us is convinced that another war would bring nothing but the complete annihilation of all that is good, worth-while and beautiful in life - and perhaps of life itself.

48. We Afghans have no other ambition that to preserve our freedom and to try to ensure the prosperity of our own people in order that they may live as a modern nation in this world. We are attached to our traditions and our spiritual legacy as well as to our Constitution, which is the spontaneous outgrowth of the nature of our own country. We are trying to preserve them, and we are ready, as we have always been, to defend our freedom and integrity - and not only by words. Fortunately, the stability of our position and the sincerity of our neutrality have been tested and proved in the last fifth years, and especially during the two world wars. To develop and modernize our country we need the support and assistance of more developed countries, and we are grateful to receive such aid.

49. We greatly appreciate the technical assistance we have received from the United Nations; we appreciate it for its own value, as well as for the opportunity it has given us for closer co-operation with this world Organization.

50. Afghanistan believes in the peaceful settlement of international differences and problems, great or small. We have tried in the past, with success, to settle many

of our own problems through direct negotiations, the use of good offices, the advice and technical help of our friends, and other peaceful means of conciliation. We are trying now, and shall try in the future, to settle our other problems by the same means, on the basis of objective, unprejudiced consideration and the principles of right and justice.

51. In our view, as regards all problems of the world where conflicts arise, the ultimate reference of the unsettled problems should be, if other conciliatory means of settlement fail, to the United Nations and the International Court of Justice. We have many important problems on our agenda this year which will be debated during the present session. The future of the world and the preservation of international peace depend on them. We hope, like everyone here, that those problems will find a satisfactory and just solution in the spirit of the United Nations Charter. To that end we are prepared to contribute in our modest way to facilitating such a solution.

52. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly.

53. At the time of our meeting this year, the international situation is, on the whole, better than it was at the eleventh session. Nevertheless the world is still in a state of acute tension and we still have much cause for anxiety. I do not think there is any need to analyse the present situation. I believe we are all more or less agreed on that. Henceforward, what we have to do now is not so much to analyse it as to see what remedies can be devised.

54. In our opinion the dominant characteristic of the present situation is that the world is still divided into hostile blocs, and specifically into military blocs. This division is still the salient feature of international relations. In most cases, policies and approaches reflect this state of affairs. I think nobody disputes this fact. It is not so important now to consider when and how these blocs were formed. For our part, we are inclined to the view that they are the result of the policy of spheres of influence which characterized the post-war period. I feel that few of us could now deny that the division of the world into blocs is an evil. Some may think it a necessary evil but that is the best that can be said. Few of us can still believe that this system of blocs will lead to a settlement of outstanding international problems. On the contrary, it is perfectly obvious that their very existence henceforward constitutes the greatest obstacle to any such settlement. It is hardly conceivable that any of the great Powers would knowingly start a world war. As for the local wars, or so-called "limited" wars, which we hear about from time to time, calling them so in present circumstances can only be a tragic contradiction in terms. The considerations of defence which are still brought forward to justify the existence of military blocs therefore strike most of us as an argument which is becoming less and less convincing.

55. Because of the obvious danger implicit in the continued existence of such groups, the concept of a defensive alliance has lost much of its old force and so should now be superseded by an effective system of collective security. The nations are running a great risk: the policy of which these blocs are both an

expression and an instrument may, notwithstanding all intentions to the contrary and by the working of a kind of internal logic, create a situation where war would threaten all nations with extinction. Superimposing ideological considerations on the system of blocs is bound, of course, to accentuate existing schisms.

56. The policy which is the logical outcome of a system based on positions of strength which are created by the accumulation of armaments and the establishment of a world-wide network of military bases is really the result of the cold war, which it tends to perpetuate. Obviously, if distrust and doubt are the guiding principles of international life, they will considerably accentuate all the differences and make the solution of international problems much more difficult. This is certainly not the way to achieve constructive results.

57. That is why, in our opinion, the policy of a State cannot be appraised according to professions of faith or statements of ideology. It must be appraised according to the extent to which such policy really promotes the principles of independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and international co-operation based on the equality of all countries. It must be judged by the extent to which it really helps to overcome existing disagreements, remove barriers, promote confidence and settle disputes by conciliation rather than on the basis of force.

58. It is encouraging to see that an increasing number of countries are adopting this attitude, which is the only realistic one for those who aim at constructive development. There can be no doubt that in this respect the main responsibility rests with the great Powers. Of course, success will depend very largely upon how far they are willing and able to settle their differences by making mutual concessions. This by no means implies that the small States will not have to play a much more important role than they have done in the past, particularly as they should not be concerned with power politics in international problems. These States could be a great help in eliminating present disputes and in encouraging trends towards the establishment of more satisfactory international relations and a more stable peace.

59. The methods and principles which I have tried to outline here are those which Yugoslavia strives consistently to apply in its foreign policy. We have endeavoured to co-operate as fully and actively as possible with every country, whatever its political or social system or ideology. I believe I can say that we have settled the principal questions outstanding between us and all the neighbouring countries and that we have established with them relations of mutual confidence and goodwill. We achieved this result because we did not succumb to suspicion and doubt and strove, in a spirit of greater trust, to make as much progress as possible towards agreement. We have radically improved and consolidated our relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe. We have further developed our good relations with the Western countries. We have continued to co-operate closely with what have been called the "uncommitted" countries of Asia and Africa. In doing so, we have, in my opinion, not only acted in our own national interests but have also made the best contribution we could to the cause of peace in general. It was

in this spirit that we recently supported the Romanian Government's initiative with a view to improving relations among the Balkan countries.

60. I now turn from these general considerations to some of the concrete problems before us which will serve, I think, to illustrate some of the remarks I have just made. I should like to begin with the problem of disarmament, which indeed encompasses all the other problems. By disarmament, we mean, of course, progressive and controlled disarmament, covering both conventional and nuclear weapons. There is general agreement on this point despite the sterile discussions which still crop up about which is to come first, control or disarmament, although it is obvious that they must go hand in hand.

61. The work of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission has ended once more in a stalemate. We trust that this situation, which becomes more alarming with every repetition, will not last. There had been some hopeful signs of agreement on several specific points. Unfortunately, as soon as broader considerations of military strategy were injected into the debate, the areas of disagreement increased and prospects of agreement receded once more.

62. It is becoming increasingly obvious that genuine progress in the field of disarmament will continue to be difficult so long as no parallel effort is made to slacken international tension and improve political, economic and cultural relations between the East and the West and to do away with all forms of restriction and discrimination, of which the policy with regard to China provides an extreme example. In such an atmosphere, the various steps which should be taken to achieve disarmament might be studied strictly on their intrinsic merits, without being conditioned by each other and, above all, without their solution being made dependent on the prior solution of political problems. These problems could then be considered in the light of their effect on the strengthening of peace and not in that of the requirements of a world strategy; of the need to halt, rather than the need to win an advantage in, the armaments race. The trend might even be reversed by maintaining the balance of armaments at a progressively lower level. I do not think that any one can now maintain that the terrifying destructive force of modern weapons is a guarantee against their use.

63. In due course, my delegation will define its position with regard to the different aspects of the disarmament problem and the proposals which will come before us. We firmly believe that fresh efforts should be made to find an increasing measure of agreement between the two main proposals submitted to the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission and again here in the general debate.

64. There is however one question which I should like to stress immediately: the discontinuance of nuclear tests for military purposes. I hardly need to stress how darkly this question looms on the international horizon and on the whole problem of disarmament. One realizes how urgently necessary it is to solve this problem when one considers that the security and well-being of a large section of mankind are at stake. There is no justification for linking this problem with other questions, particularly with other disarmament measures. The fact that it is sometimes still maintained that the discontinuance of nuclear tests has nothing

to do with disarmament is no reason for further postponing a solution.

65. Much of our debate has been devoted, quite naturally, to the situation in the Middle East. This critical region seems once again to be in the grip of acute tension, which places a heavy strain on the peace of the whole world. The tension can hardly be attributable to anything other than the attempts to incorporate this region in the framework of the big military blocs, which have most certainly been prejudicial to the aspirations and interests of the countries of the Middle East. May I remind you that, from the outset, we sounded a warning against the inevitably adverse consequences of such an approach? Unfortunately, events have proved us right.

66. The States of the Middle East should be assisted in their efforts to establish their independence on a sound economic and political basis. The economic interests which other Powers may have in that part of the world can be safeguarded only through co-operation on a basis of equality and mutual respect. Such interests cease to be legitimate when they involve domination or interference.

67. At the present juncture, the situation created by the growing pressure on Syria is particularly disquieting. Certain perfectly normal measures taken by Syria in a field exclusively within its own jurisdiction have been used as a pretext for pressure, on the basis of false charges of alleged aggressive intentions. Syria, like all other countries, is entitled to live in peace and to organize itself in its own way.

68. Similarly, the situation which still persists in Algeria cannot but fill us with the profoundest apprehension. Repression by force of arms is still the policy there and there is, so far, little sign of a cessation of hostilities. However, it should be obvious by now that this problem can be solved only by peaceful means and on an equitable basis acceptable to the parties concerned and by recognizing the Algerian people's right to self-determination. Such a settlement would also serve the true interests of France.

69. I should now like to refer to the very important question of Cyprus and express our hope that, with the goodwill of all concerned, a just solution will soon be reached.

70. I now turn to some economic problems which are the root cause of the general instability of the world and therefore urgently require solution. One of these problems is that, despite the present prosperity of some parts of the world, economic fluctuations are producing an increasingly serious imbalance of the world economy. There is no doubt that this disquieting trend can be corrected only by co-operation, and not by restrictive measures. In our opinion, consultations between governments on the most urgent economic problems, as recommended by the Economic and Social Council [resolution 654 E (XXIV)], would be an excellent means of promoting economic co-operation within the framework of the United Nations.

71. One of the world's thorniest economic problems is the gap between the developed and the under-developed countries, which is becoming ever larger, for although the under-developed countries are redoubling their efforts to accelerate their economic development, the gulf between them and the developed areas is becoming wider and wider. We are convinced that it is above all

the function of the international community to encourage a steadier and more dynamic development of the world economy through fresh international action designed to accelerate the economic development of the under-developed countries.

72. One of the most urgent of these problems is certainly the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). My delegation hopes that the General Assembly will endorse the recommendation adopted at the twenty-fourth session of the Economic and Social Council concerning the establishment of SUNFED and of a preparatory commission [resolution 662 B (XXIV)].

73. I have not attempted to present an exhaustive statement of my Government's views on foreign policy. In any case, I think that these views are familiar to you. They are applied in our daily practice, and have been stated on many occasions and in many documents. The problems we have to face are certainly not easy to solve. They can be solved only by means of systematic measures for bettering international relations and strengthening peace. They cannot even be fully understood unless they are studied in relation to this general improvement and the conditions needed for such improvement.

74. It is clearly the mission of the United Nations to play a primary role in carrying out this task. Indeed our Organization is already performing this function. It has helped to reduce the seriousness of the disputes which were tearing the world asunder and has been instrumental in surmounting more than one crisis. Since the United Nations is, in a way, the embodiment and the symbol of the only policy which, at the present juncture, can ensure a stable and lasting peace, it is also the most effective instrument of this policy. In this respect, I feel, the General Assembly has an essential task to perform. I need hardly add, in conclusion, that in the discharge of these functions the United Nations will have my country's full and whole-hearted support.

75. Mr. ISMAIL (Federation of Malaya): Mr. President, first and foremost I should like to congratulate you on your election as President of the twelfth session of the General Assembly. It will remain in our memory that it was during your Presidency that the Federation of Malaya was admitted to membership in the United Nations.

76. Being a newcomer to this Assembly, I must confess that it was with some hesitation that I decided to participate in this general debate. I should mention right away that as a newly independent nation, fully responsible to itself in both internal and external affairs, the Federation of Malaya is less than one month old. Before 31 August 1957, the external affairs of my country were entirely the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government and we had no hand in them. The people of the Federation of Malaya assumed complete responsibility over the external affairs of their country as from 31 August 1957, starting, so to speak, almost from scratch. We have been asked right from the dawn of independence what our foreign policies are. We consider that it is appropriate that statements on such policies should be made only in general terms, because it is inevitable that it will take time for us to formulate policies on specific matters, their formulation requiring all the careful study that they deserve. In general terms, therefore, the foreign policy of the

Federation of Malaya is to safeguard our independence and to live in peace and harmony with all friendly nations of the world.

77. We are fully conscious of the many and varied problems that face the world today, problems some of which are potentially dangerous to the peace and security of the world and which require solution. We are conscious that as a Member of the United Nations, small though we are as a nation, we have a part to play in the discussion on these vital problems and in the attempt to seek a solution to them. It was not my intention at this stage of our membership of the United Nations to speak on the problems which are before this session of the General Assembly. But after listening to the representatives who have spoken before me, some of whose statements have found a responsive chord in our hearts, I feel that I must make myself heard in this debate.

78. I would like first to express our gratitude to the many representatives for their kind words in this general debate in welcoming my country as a Member of the United Nations. We are particularly encouraged by the statement of the representative of New Zealand [683rd meeting] that the vitality of the United Nations is reflected not only in the scope of the General Assembly's agenda but also in its growing and nearly universal membership. There probably was never a time in the troubled history of the world when so much depended on the success of this Organization to solve those problems which threaten the peace and prosperity of the whole world. The vitality of the United Nations in finding solutions to these problems must depend on its Members, and I have no doubt that the growing and nearly universal membership of the United Nations will contribute towards this essential vitality.

79. This leads me to the subject of self-determination on which we have already heard wise words spoken here. I cannot do better than repeat the words of the representative of Ireland:

"The principle of self-determination of peoples ought ... to be the great master principle by which this Assembly should be guided in its quest for a just and peaceful world order" [682nd meeting, para.29].

80. It is the firm belief in this principle which has brought independence to the people of my country. It was the staunch belief in this principle of self-determination that gave strength to nationalism in Malaya in the fight for independence. We can no longer afford to infringe this principle if we are to seek a just and peaceful world order. We firmly believe that it is the guiding principle which will bring a solution to the problems which have arisen in Africa, in the Middle East and in our own part of the world—problems which the Assembly must face. Colonialism, which is the outright denial of the principle of self-determination, is the root cause of the misery and contention which exist in the world today. It has been the experience of my own country that so long as colonialism existed the energies of the people could not be diverted towards fighting communalism, which was the great bogey raised in the plural society of Malaya, or against militant communism which sought the overthrow of the constituted Government of the country. So long as colonialism existed, the energies of the people subjected to it would always be directed towards its removal and towards nothing else. And this is as it

should be. Hard and bitter experience the world over has shown that nations cannot live side by side in peace and harmony so long as colonialism exists in one form or another and the principle of self-determination for all countries is ignored. The domination of territories by colonial powers has led to these colonial territories being used as pawns in the struggle of ideologies in the world. We have a proverb which in my own language states: Gajah berjuang, rumput juga yang bernasa (When elephants clash, it is the grass that is destroyed).

81. It is worth pointing out that once a country is freed from the deadening hand of colonialism, once the energies of a colonial people are no longer diverted towards fighting colonialism but are channelled towards their own salvation, history shows that the whole world is thereby benefited. I can readily point to the example of the United States, of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and of course, in our own time, the shining example of India, whose untiring efforts for peace and vast influence in world affairs today we readily acknowledge.

82. Like Ireland, like New Zealand, we are a small nation. Our position as a small, newly independent nation, taking our place in the family of nations, is perhaps unique in the world. Ours is what is known as a plural society in which three major races with different outlooks on life live side by side, and which nationalism has brought close together in brotherhood and unity towards a common goal. Nationalism and our abiding faith in democracy, we believe, will maintain and promote this unity of the races in Malaya, but this time towards the ultimate goals of peace and prosperity for all our people and of friendly relations with all countries. It is obvious to us that the prerequisite to these ultimate objectives is peace. There is not yet a state of peace in my country. As I stated yesterday [686th meeting], we have fought militant and aggressive communism in the Federation of Malaya for the last nine years. Militant and aggressive communism, which has found followers among the alien groups in my country, has taken up arms against the constituted Government of my country and we are determined, more than ever now that we are a fully sovereign and independent nation, to end this useless struggle. Our Prime Minister has declared that it is the aim of his Government to end it by 31 August 1958, the anniversary of our independence.

83. Our position in the world today is unique also in that we are fairly content with what we already possess.

We do not seek vast sums of money from our friends to tide us along in our own affairs. We do not covet the goods and chattels nor the territory of others. We have even refused to take the territory of Singapore into our little Federation of States, although the Singapore Government desires its voluntary union with us. We as an undeveloped country of course need assistance in the economic development of the country, particularly in the form of technical assistance. And we have received substantial aid in this form. But the greatest need of my country today is peace and the goodwill of all other countries with which it is our desire to live in friendship and mutual understanding. We venture to suggest that our unique position permits us to play an impartial role in the affairs of the world. It appears to us that there is need for objectivity in our judgments and actions as Members of this great Organization.

84. We therefore take our place among you with great hopes and faith in the ultimate goodness of mankind. We take our place here in this Assembly with a prayer in our hearts that we shall be guided in our discussions and our decisions by objective considerations. We suggest that we have taken our place in this Assembly as a right properly earned; we feel that the Members of this Assembly have accepted us among them purely on the merits of our position. Now that we are here as a Member of the United Nations, we would welcome all other countries which have earned the right to be a Member of the United Nations as my own country has done, and has so achieved that right.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)

85. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Assembly that the representative of Pakistan has made it known to me that he wishes to correct the vote cast by Pakistan yesterday [686th meeting] on the draft resolution [A/3670, para.7] recommended by the General Committee when the resolution as a whole was put to the vote. During the roll-call vote the representative of Pakistan abstained. He wishes now to be recorded as having voted in favour of the resolution. Thus the result of the vote would be 48 votes in favour, 27 against, with 6 abstentions. If there is no objection this will be done.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.